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SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

Some occasions for the use of imun 436

1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
1 fathom given to old man for making *upi* for *wapi* ceremony.
1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.
Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner. [583]
1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos. [784]
1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband. [606]
1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'. [627] [766]
Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*.
Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack. [852]

DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.[1] With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart, 436 437

[1] It is noted by Thurnwald (1912, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka and North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *kibā*.

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stage has been reached, he will then collect the *kobol* and proceed to the house of the patient. Entering, he fastens the door, and gives the *kobol* to the patient, who drinks the mixture. The two of them then go outside the house and the "doctor-man" obtains the leaf of a native vine *pahu*. Biting off a portion himself he gives another portion to the patient, and the two masticate the leaf, mixing it with betel-nut; chewing and spitting out the masticated juices. The two then re-enter the house, and a *pahu* leaf is hung up inside the house in such a position as to hang near the face of the patient when he is sleeping. The patient goes to bed and sleeps. In his sleep he dreams that he is endeavouring to find the man who gave him the poison, but a spirit visits him in his dream and prevents him from seeing the man; explaining to him that he has not been poisoned at all. In the morning the "doctor-man" inquires of the patient as to what he has seen during the night. "I saw no man who had poisoned me" replies the patient, or words to that effect. "I am well now, I have not been poisoned, for the spirit told me so." The patient then makes a speedy recovery.'

Other forms of harmful magic. There are milder forms of harmful magic which are not considered in the same light as 'making poison', but as legitimate methods of punishing some one who has done you an injury. These were told to me in the course of discussions on the use of various plants for medicinal purposes. There was no secret about them, and they were clearly regarded in the same light as any other 'prescriptions'.

If a thief persistently steals your taro.

Scrape to a powder the bones of a crocodile, and bury some of this powder (*mesopisi*) on the road to the taro garden, where the thief will walk over it. When you know that he has done so, take up the package and burn it. The thief will get a bad sore on his leg.

For a man stealing coco-nuts.

Take some leaves of the shrub *ruruparī*, put them into a young coco-nut which has been emptied of its milk through the eye. Lay this on the ground in the coco-nut grove. Chew the root of the same shrub with the betel-mixture, spit on some dead branches and throw them down where the coco-nut is. When the thief comes into the grove his belly will become very painful, so that he cries out. He will not be able to walk, but will crawl home and lie down in his house. Then you must watch till the tide comes in, and then plug up the hole in the shell of the young coco-nut. This makes the thief short of breath, and he stays at

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754 home whenever the tide is high (i.e. when he ought to be out fishing),
627 but at low tide he is always hungry and goes round asking for food. After
824 a time he will go mad. If you are sorry for him and wish to cure him of his madness, squeeze a small plant called *bokono* into water and give it to him to drink, then he will be all right again.

Another method:

824 Fill up a bamboo with salt water. Chew the root of the plant *gogō* and spit it into the bamboo. Lay it across the path to the coco-nut grove, where the thief will walk over it. Then watch for him secretly, and when you are sure he has walked over the bamboo, take it away and burn it. Shortly afterwards the thief will become very ill.

789 To revenge yourself on a man who has done you an injury, by
627 causing the sea to break up his canoe:

824 Get the leaves of the shrub *korōwin*, both red and green kinds. Pound them to a pulp, mix some *sisiwa* with them, and put the mixture inside a cleaned-out coco-nut shell. You must fill it quite full. Go to the shore and dip the coco-nut shell in the sea, then pull it out, and bury it in the sand among the bushes, a little above the place where the water reaches at high tide. The next tide will come up to the spot. After two days dig up the coco-nut and put it farther back, and do this every two days until the tide has come up so far that it breaks the canoe belonging to your enemy. The sea follows the coco-nut because the *sisiwa* is strong and pulls it. When you want the tide to become normal again, break the coco-nut full of mixture and throw it away.

Kakari did this at the request of Murē, because two other men had damaged Murē's *mon*. The result was to make the tide come up till it smashed up a *mon* belonging to one of these two men. (Note. *Mon* (plank canoes) are kept on the shore and are sometimes damaged by exceptionally high tides.)

789 Apart from these, it will be noticed that forms of procedure which under most circumstances may be directed towards quite legitimate ends, may at times take on an anti-social aspect, as when love magic is used to entice another man's wife. Sometimes the 'prescriptions' in my collection are accompanied by a statement to the effect that while they produce certain desirable results from the point of view of the person using them, they are harmful to his rivals, e.g. they will prevent other canoes from catching fish while your own is taking plenty, or will make your taro good and other people's bad. This is apparently accepted, at any rate no secret was made of such 'medicines', and there was no emotional tension displayed in dis-

unexpectedly and immediately went on board, where his people proposed the plan to him. In his laconic manner he answered: "Good! Do what you want to, but I am on the side of the white men." Obviously the hostile venture did not come to pass, and with the aid of Gorai and the islanders who had recently been so hostilely disposed, they succeeded [5] in setting their schooner afloat again. A favorite expression of the old man was: "To be sure, I have a black skin, but my heart is white." When he died in 1894 one of his last commands was that no slaves be killed after his death--a custom that even today is still practiced in Bougainville and on the Shortland Islands upon the death of a chieftain. A few years ago I was lying at anchor in the little Baniu Bay on the north coast of Bougainville. A great part of the coastal people was absent, as I found out, on a war expedition against the mountain people. On the following morning the whole group, about fifty men, came back and brought along as a prisoner of war a man who was carrying a child about a year old in his arms. Upon interrogation it turned out that, farther inland, they had surprised a number of natives who were quietly working on a plantation; men as well as women had hastily taken flight, and they had not succeeded in taking any prisoners. Since, however, the inland villages had now been alarmed, they gave up their war expedition and retreated to the previously mentioned plantation to pass the night there. During the night they had heard a slight noise and, suspecting an attack by the mountain people, had carefully kept watch; they saw a single man who walked forward, looking around cautiously, until, having reached a banana tree, he picked up a child and then just as cautiously started out on his way back. He and the child had then been silently surrounded and captured. The child had been forgotten by its mother during the hasty flight. When it was finally missed, the father had returned, despite the risks connected with it, to seek and save his offspring in the hiding place known to him; he was more than a little surprised when I bought him free with a few articles and he was told he could return home safely--which he hastily did.

These examples, I believe, suffice to demonstrate that despite cannibalism and other not particularly gentle customs and practices, the northern Solomon Islanders on the whole are not so cruel and wild as they have been otherwise described. They contrast very favorably in comparison with the inhabitants of the other islands of the archipelago, especially with the notorious headhunters of Vella Lavella and New Georgia. To be sure, feuds of greater and lesser duration are not infrequent among neighboring tribes, especially between the coast inhabitants and the mountain dwellers, but on the other South Sea Islands quite similar conditions prevail and it occurs to

no one to regard their people as exceedingly cruel for this reason. The Christian Samoans have been waging war among themselves almost continually for years, and even if they do not eat their prisoners of war, they do cut off their heads; despite this they have the reputation of being a kind and good-natured people. When our German government acquired colonies in the Western Pacific, it was certainly an extremely good move to include the northwestern Solomon Islands in the realm of the new colony. Specifically the natives of these islands have, up until now, turned out well as members of the small defensive army in the Bismarck Archipelago. Just as they have proven themselves loyal and reliable as plantation workers, they have also often won the praise of their leaders on the frequently very laborious and dangerous expeditions against natives in the archipelago.

Tribal Government

As is the case everywhere in the Solomon Islands, the honor of being chieftain is hereditary. The oldest son is not always his father's successor; if the father has several sons, he names one as his heir, as a rule to be sure, the eldest.

Every village has its own chieftain who, strictly speaking, rules his own little realm himself; however, weaker chieftains frequently ally themselves with neighboring chieftains in an offensive and defensive alliance against neighboring enemies. Chieftains who have at their command a large number of warriors not infrequently compel weaker neighboring chieftains into a sort of vassalage, but the weaker one's duties seem to consist solely in accompanying the stronger one on war expeditions and supporting him with his men; in return he can always count on the protection of the stronger chieftain. The deceased Gorai in Shortland had established such an extended vassalage, which comprised the southern half of Bougainville, all the islands of the Bougainville Strait, and the north end of Choiseul. He was looked upon as the reigning chieftain, and no one dared to undertake anything against his will. After Gorai's death this league disintegrated, and since the deceased was a prudent man and very favorably disposed towards the whites, the peaceful conditions created by him are in danger of gradual collapse. On Buka the tribes around Carola Harbor and the opposite east coast of Hanahan are allied against those on the island's north cape and on the mountainous south end of Zoloss. In Bougainville exactly the same sort

of alliances may be found. At present, the allies are almost always in a state of feud with neighboring allies. As a result there is a continual preparedness for war. While working on the plantations, fishing along the coast, etc., bow and arrow are always kept at hand, for an attack can always be expected. Longer and shorter intervals between these feuds occur, of course, but not as the result of a mutual agreement, but as a consequence of unfavorable weather conditions or major losses of men in one party or the other. When disputes arise between allies within these leagues, these too can lead to a temporary feud, but after a certain time peace is negotiated by intermediaries--as a rule by payment. 627

Social Groups, Marriage Customs, Position of Women

In Buka the whole population is divided into two large groups that have as their symbols the chicken and the frigate bird and are named accordingly Kéreu and Mânu, after the two birds. If a man is a Kéreu, then he must marry a Mânu, and vice versa: if he is a Mânu he must marry a Kéreu. The children always inherit the symbol of the mother. In northern Bougainville the same two birds serve as clan symbols: the chicken, Atóa, and the frigate bird, Manû; the situation here is very much like that on Buka. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait very similar conditions exist, but with the difference that a greater number of birds serve as symbols. Also members having the same symbol are not named after the relevant bird but bear their own clan name. The members of the clan who have as their sign the dove (baĉlo) are called Baumane; those that have the Buceros (popo) are called Sfmâa; those that have the cockatoo (âna) are called Bânahu; those that have the frigate bird (mânua) are called Talapuini; those that have the tigenôu are called Hanapare; those who have the kâpi: Talasaggi; those that have tâlile: Habubûsu. Members of one clan always marry members of another, but here too it is the established rule that the children belong to the clan of the mother. 616 171 614 616

There is no externally visible clan symbol; everyone seems to know the symbol of the others. Natives of the same clan symbol consider themselves close relatives; if, for example, a Kéreu or a Sfmâa comes to another village, he is received hospitably by the local Kéreu or Sfmâa and given room and board. Clan symbols from the rest of